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After the victory [1945] the Chinese government in accord with the Sino-Soviet Treaty [August 1945] recognized the independence of Outer Mongolia. Inner Mongolia, incited by this development, revealed the ferment of an autonomy movement in eastern Mongolia. This was followed by an outcry for autonomy in the National Assembly, which amply demonstrated that unless wise measures of control were speedily devised the Great Wall may no longer prevent invasion by enemies.

Since all of North China is in such a dangerous situation, all of us should exert our concerted efforts to awaken the authorities and people to take a right view of the question of Mongolia. The minority problem involved should be properly handled, and suitable defense measures must be devised and speedily carried out.

## II. GEOGRAPHICAL DEFENSE OF INNER MONGOLIA

### A. Economic Resources of Inner Mongolia

Inner Mongolia is noted as a grazing area. Pastoral peoples are regarded by many as backward and not to be compared in economic importance with agricultural peoples. From the standpoint of national defense, however, this is a mistaken notion. Horses are indispensable to cavalry. Wool and cowhides are of undoubted importance in the manufacture of uniforms and many other articles of military use. While the Chinese are accustomed to regard rice and wheat as man's most important foodstuffs, they are actually not equal to beef and mutton. Consequently, the preservation and encouragement of the grazing industry is highly important in the present problem of national defense.

Secondly, the agricultural and mining industries of Inner Mongolia are showing an encouraging development.

The important economic resources of Inner Mongolia are described below.

#### 1. Livestock

##### a. Sheep and Goats

The prewar sheep [and goat] production of Inner Mongolia amounted to approximately 8 million head. Sheep accounted for 75 percent and goats for 25 percent of this total. The most noted area for sheep production is the region of the Ikechon League in Suiyuan Province. This stock is important locally for food, and wool is of first importance commercially. To-lun, Feng-chen, Sui-yuan, and Nigh-hsia are important wool markets. Goat's hair, being long and fine, is used for the manufacture of nappy materials. An article of secondary commercial importance is sheepskin, from which "t'an-p'i" are made. "T'a-p'i" and lambskin furnish the most effective protection against the cold.

##### b. Horses

Annual horse production in Inner Mongolia amounts to about 6 million head. Chahar is the most important production area. The meaning of "Ch'a-ha-erh" in Mongolian is "horses." Chahar has the highest production of horses in the whole nation. The Ku-yuan, To-lun, and Shang-tu areas are the best for horse raising. The most famous horses are those from the "A-li-kang-yai" pastures in Wu-chu-ma-ch'in of the Silingol League. During the Ch'ing [Manchu] Dynasty, the T'ai-yen-asu pasture was established in Pao-ch'ang Hsien (now called Liang-i pastures). North of Shang-tu the Li-pu (now called Shang-tu) pasture was established. North of Ku-yuan, the Yu-ma (now called model) pasture was located. All these were notable breeding grounds. To-lun and Kan-chu-shu were noted horse markets.

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Production of horses in China proper is very slight. Horses have to be bought outside the great wall, both for military and general use. Pei-p'ing is a jobbers' market.

Horsehides for leather all have to be brought from Wan-ch'uan (Kalgan) and beyond. Horsehair is another important item of commerce.

#### c. Cattle

Nearly 7 million head of cattle are produced annually in Inner Mongolia. The most numerous are yellow cattle weighing from 490 pounds to 503.8 pounds a head. They constitute the chief food in this area. Suiyuan and Chahar Provinces are the chief producing areas. Those produced in Suiyuan and the Chi-ning (P'ing-ti-ch'ien) area are called Hsi-k'ou (western) cattle, and those from the Kalgan and To-lun areas are called Tung-k'ou (eastern) cattle. The chief exports are animal fats and beef.

### 2. Agriculture

It has already been stated that there are many arable areas in Inner Mongolia. However, the proportion of arable land to the total area is small: 42 percent in Chahar, 3 percent in Suiyuan, and 0.5 percent in Ningxia. Agriculture flourishes in Jehol. Koliang, wheat, millet, glutinous millet, upland rice, buckwheat, sesame, maize, etc., are all found. A comparative table of production of various agricultural items by provinces follows:

(Basic unit, 1,000 piculs)

Item	Chahar	Suiyuan	Ningxia
Rice	225	---	891
Wheat	1,274	2,309	7,621
Barley	610	772	168
Koliang	2,696	2,854	264
(kaffir corn)			
Millet	4,322	5,667	567
Corn	895	114	32
Soy beans	1,094	---	126
Cotton	---	---	3
Hemp	7	246	---
Sesame	61	140	30
Rape seed	84	156	4

### 3. Mining

The mining of coal, iron, and salt are the best developed types of mining found in Inner Mongolia.

#### a. Coal

The chief coal-production areas are the Ningxia coal fields at the eastern base of Ho-land Shan. Beginning northeast of Chung-wei in the south and extending to Tung-k'ou in the north, the coal veins are continuous. Up to the present, mines have been opened only at Chung-wei, Ling-wu, and P'ing-lo.

The second area is south of Yin Shan. Production is taking place at Ku-yung, An-Pei, Kuei-tai, T'ao-lin, Chi-ning and Hsing-ho Hsien. The most noted mines are those at Ta-ch'ing Shan. The reserves here amount to 6,600,000 tons of anthracite and 13 million tons of bituminous coal.

The third important production area is the Hsien-hua area. Chung-pei and Ku-yuan in Chahar also produce coal, but the Hsien-hua mine area is the most important of the Chahar production areas.

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The mines are located in three heiens, Hsüan-hua, Hsai-lai, and Wei Hsien. At present the T'ien-hsing, Pao-sing, and Hou-hsing mines are using modern methods with a high production rate.

The Pei-p'iao mines in Jehol constitute the fourth important coal-producing area in Inner Mongolia. These mines are able to provide coal for the railways of the area.

#### b. Iron

There are ample reserves of iron ore at Ku-yang in Suiyuan Province and at Yen-t'ung Shan and Lung-yen in Chahar. The Lung-yen mines are already nationally known.

#### c. Salt

Inner Mongolia abounds in salt lakes. The so-called "blister" salt produced in three important areas in Mingsia is the leading type. These areas are Hsü-ma ch'ih in Yen-ch'ih Hsien, Hsü-an ch'ih in Ling-wu Hsien, and Chi-lan-t'ai ch'ih. Most of the population of Shensi and Kansu secure their salt from this source.

Suiyuan and Chahar provide a secondary source of lake salt. White salt is produced in the YN-ch'ih area of the Ordos River basin and red salt in the O-t'o area. The Feng-chen lake basin is also productive.

Salt from the Ta-mu-sou-no-erh area about 40 li northwest of the palace of Prince Wu-chu-mu-ch'in is distributed in Chahar, Liaoning, Heilungkiang, and Ch'e-ch'en-han. Another Chahar salt lake is located 18 li southwest of the palace of the Prince of the West Wing of the Sumid Banner.

### B. Key Importance of Inner Mongolia to National Defense

#### 1. Distribution and Administration of Mongol Banners and Leagues

The banner is the basic political unit of the Mongols. Above this is the league which is headed by a chairman formerly elected by the banners; during the Manchu Dynasty the system was changed to that of the appointment of a prince by the Imperial government.

There were originally four eastern and two western leagues in Inner Mongolia. Included within these were 24 tribes and 42 banners. The list below gives the six leagues and their subsidiary tribes and banners. [Conventionalized spellings from China Handbook, 1947 edition].

<u>Four Eastern Leagues</u>	<u>Tribes</u>	<u>No. of Banners</u>
Che-li-mu (Jerin) (NW Liaoning and SW Heilungkiang)	K'o-erh-oh'in (Khorchin)	6
	Cha-lai-t'e (Jalait)	1
	Tu-erh-yu-t'e (Durbet)	1
	Kuo-erh-lo-sou (Gorlos)	2
Che-so-t'u (Josoto) (S Jehol)	K'o-erh-oh'in	3
	T'u-mu-t'e (Tumut)	2
Chao-wu-ta (N Jehol)	Pa-lin (Beirin)	2
	Ai-han (Aokhan)	1
	Hai-man	1
	Che-lu (Jarod)	2
	A-lu-k'o-erh-oh'in	1
	Weng-niu-t'e (Ongniot)	2
	K'o-shih-k'o-sheng	1
	K'o-erh-k'o (Khalkha) Left Wing	1
Hai-ling-kuo-l (Silingol) (E Chahar)	Wu-chu-mu-ch'in (Ujimchin)	1
	Hao-chi-t'e (Hochi)	2
	Su-ni-t'e (Sumid)	2
	A-pe-ho (Abaga)	2

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Two Western Leagues

Wu-lan-ch'a-pu (Ulanchoab)	Sou-tzu-pu-lo	1
(N Suiyuan)	Mao-ming-an (Mo-Minggan)	1
	Wu-la-t'e (Ulat)	3
	K'o-erh-k'o (Khalkha)	1
I-k'o-chao (Ikechou)	O-erh-to-ssu (Ordos)	7
(S Suiyuan)		

There are two tribes represented within the provincial organization of Suiyuan and Chahar having eight banners in Chahar and two in Kwei-hua city.

The Mongol banners in Ningsia are different from those of the six leagues. This is the home of the O-lu-t'e tribes. Because they live west of the Yellow River bend they are called the west O-lu-t'e or Ho-lan Shan O-lu-t'o or Hsi-t'ai Mongols. They are divided into two tribes, the A-la Shan O-lu-t'e and the O-chi-na-chiu-t'u-erh-hu-t'e tribe.

The Manchus maintained a military regime through the Jehol T'ing (Bureau) and the Suiyuan Tao (Circuit), etc., which was in addition to and separate from the league organization. In 1913 the three Special Administrative Areas of Jehol, Chahar, and Suiyuan were organized. Ningsia was administered as a part of Kansu. In 1928 the organization was changed to the four provinces of Jehol, Chahar, Suiyuan, and Ningsia. In the northern part of these provinces, where Mongols dwell exclusively, there are only league and banner organizations. In the southern portions, where there is mixed residence of Mongols, Chinese, Manchus, and Moslems, there are many Hsien organizations.

## III. FERMENT OF THE AUTONOMOUS MOVEMENT IN INNER MONGOLIA

From the first year of the Republic and the independence movement in Outer Mongolia there have been problems of changing administration in Inner Mongolia. When the Special Administrative Areas were set up for Jehol, Chahar, and Suiyuan hsien were organized. When provinces were organized in 1928, it was decided to substitute hsien for banners everywhere. There then arose in Inner Mongolia a conflict between the hsien and banner systems of government.

With the 18 September 1931 Incident the complexion of affairs changed in eastern Mongolia. In 1932 the enemy occupied Jehol and the Chao-wu-to and the Cho-su-t'u Leagues came under enemy control. The Western Mongols, basing their claims on the fundamental principles of national stability, "that the government should assist minority groups and enable them to enjoy self-determination and autonomy," demanded a high degree of autonomy. After the central government had agreed, there was set up in 1934 at Pai-ling-miao, a Mongolian Committee for Local Government Affairs. The conflict between the hsien and banner systems continued, however, to grow in intensity. In 1936 northern Chahar was lost and the Hsi (royal favor) League thus came under the aegis of the Japanese. The Mongolian Political Committee was dispersed and replaced by the two committees of Mongolia and Suiyuan. Under these circumstances the Inner Mongolia autonomous movement was submerged in the difficulties of internal disorder and foreign encroachment.

After the 7 July [1937] Incident the enemy first organized the so-called Mongol Military Government, then later organized three puppet governments, the Chahar Autonomous Government, the North Shansi Autonomous Government, and the Mongol Allied Autonomous Government, and still later merged the three into the Mengchiang United Autonomous Government.

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After 15 August 1945 the puppet government fell. The Russian and Outer Mongolian troops entered Inner Mongolia, and the latter claimed to be liberators of Inner Mongolia. For a time the Inner Mongolian people were considerably aroused. Representatives of the Cho-li-mu, Hu-lun-pei-erh, Pu-t'e-ha, and other leagues and banners met at Wang-yeh-miao.

A revolutionary group (reported to have connections with Outer Mongolia), taking advantage of the San Francisco Conference, raised the question of Mongolian Autonomy. The Cho-su-t'u and the Chao-wu-ta Leagues sent delegates to that Conference. The trend toward the north was not great at that time. The Soviet and Outer Mongolian soldiers had not left an entirely happy impression, and the people had been influenced by this; consequently, the activities of the People's Revolutionary Party were affected. The revolutionary idea was not welcomed by all the people, and the question discussed at the time was whether or not the people of Inner Mongolia really needed autonomy.

On 15 April 1947 in a conference at Ko-chao-miao the autonomous movement was actually initiated. The East Mongolian Autonomous Government contains two parties, the "Pei-ch'ing" leaning toward Outer Mongolia, and the "Wei-ch'ing" leaning toward China. This latter party advocated sending Mani-pa-ta-la as its representative to petition the Central Government at the Northeast Field Headquarters at Pei-p'ing. At the same time, the other party and those inclined toward Yen-an sent Fu-yen-man-tu to Ch'eng-te to contact the Chinese Communists. Later they held a conference at Ch'ih-feng and came to an agreement with the Chang-yuan Inner Mongolia United Autonomous Government Committee. The Committee for the Liberation of the Mongol Race of the Hsi and Ch'a Leagues was also drawn into this group. The East Mongolian Autonomous Government was dissolved, and the Communists can be said to have united the Mongol people.

In their government of Inner Mongolia the Communists make use of the intelligentsia rather than the princes. The Communist control over the Mongol organizations of Wan-ch'uan and Ch'eng-te has now been broken by the KMT forces; consequently the party leaning toward China has sent representatives to Nan-ching to take part in the National Assembly and to demand Mongol autonomy on the basis of the constitution. They claim that the Inner Mongolian question is a racial and not a territorial question. In the past it has been regarded as a border question and a territorial question. To treat it in this manner would practically result in the reduction of the Mongols to oblivion. This claim has aroused the attention of the nation. How shall we settle this question in such a way as to prevent the communists or foreigners from taking advantage of the situation?

#### IV. PROPOSED SOLUTION OF THE INNER MONGOLIAN PROBLEM

The recognition of the independence of Outer Mongolia opened wide the gate to Inner Mongolia. It is impractical to speak of the defense of Inner Mongolia by military strength under present conditions. The most efficient method will be to strengthen its political defense. This means settling the political questions of the territory in such a manner that there will be no leaning toward the north. If she wishes to strengthen her political position in Inner Mongolia, China must discern where the trouble lies.

The conflict over the provincial, hsien, and banner systems seems on the surface to be a political question, but it is in reality a racial and economic question. The league and banner system is an indigenous Mongol system of self-government of over 300 years standing. Naturally, the Mongolians wish to preserve it. It is also natural that, since they have the same blood, language, mores, habits, religion, etc., as the Outer Mongolians, they should wish to cooperate with them and escape the provincial and hsien system of government. This is the racial problem involved in the conflict of the province-hsien system with the league-banner system.

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The economic problem results from the so-called "forcible" conversion of grazing lands into cultivated lands under the hsien system, thus destroying the basic Mongol economy. The Mongol opposition to the hsien system and their desire to preserve the banner system is based on this fact.

The political aspect of the problem results from the fact that when the hsien system is set up, the men in charge are all Chinese appointed by the Central Government. According to the testimony of the Mongols, these men usurp autocratic power and thus become unacceptable to the governed. Consequently, the Mongols wish to retain the league-banner system with a league made equivalent to a province and a banner equivalent to a hsien. They wish to have Mongols in charge of these so that while they will be united to China they will not be directly under Chinese officialdom. This is the heart of the problem for which the Mongols are demanding a solution.

On careful consideration it must be recognized, however, that not only are Mongols involved, but also Chinese, Manchus, and Moslems. Particularly in the southern portions of the areas Chinese predominate. Should the province-hsien system prevailing there be removed and the league-banner system revived, Chinese, Manchus, and Moslems would be brought under Mongol control. The problem would be then created anew in reverse. The league is in reality only a collection of banners; the banner is the basic organizational cell. Hence, to preserve the basic Mongol system it is necessary only to preserve the banners. A few suggestions are offered below for the solution of this problem.

1. Continue the provincial organization and abandon the league system, but more Mongols should be brought into the provincial government organization. Central Government officials appointed to positions in these governments should be men of illustrious learning and clear understanding who will not arouse Mongol antipathy but who will seek their welfare.
2. Maintain the present proportion of hsien and banners. Where hsien have not been set up in predominantly Mongol areas, continue the banner system and let the Mongols control them. Where there are mixed populations in areas where hsien are already organized, endeavor to provide representation of all classes in the hsien government in proportion to their numbers in the population; place leadership in the hands of the race representing the bulk of the population. Subordinate positions can then be staffed by representatives of races representing a smaller proportion of the population. An acceptable balance of authority may thus be assured.
3. On the economic side, cease the expansion of cultivation into areas not now cultivated, preserve the grazing grounds, and promote the grazing industry. Where conflicts occur between Mongols and Chinese over land, seek an equitable settlement.
4. In border region governmental affairs seek to use more Mongols especially looking out for young Mongols of intelligence. Do away with the exclusive rule of the princes.
5. Seek to raise the level of knowledge among the Mongols. Promote popular education, but seek to preserve Mongol civilization. Constructive efforts should be made to promote the economic welfare of the Mongols.

## V. CONCLUSION

In the application of constitutional government to the country the Mongols have been given large representation in the Legislative and Examination Yuan, and other organs of the government, which is evidence that the government has already taken cognizance of the Mongol problem. It is hoped that the government will act along the lines suggested above to achieve a happy solution of this problem of Inner Mongolia.

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The tranquillity of Inner Mongolia is tied up with the national tranquillity as a whole. With military preparedness at its present low ebb, the preservation of Inner Mongolia calls for an over-all plan. The most important thing is to solve the autonomy question successfully on an equitable basis so that Mongol citizens will support the Central Government's plan for strengthening the national defense. When this has been done, various economic, transportation, and communications projects may be undertaken. Mongolia may thus become an iron fortress in the system of national defense.

It is hoped that the government will give attention to the importance of the geographical and political defense of Inner Mongolia and to the suggestions humbly set forth in this article.

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